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ABSTRACT

The scope of this paper covered preliminary analyses and findings on historical change in occupational aspirations, occupational expectations, and intensity and aspiration of black and white Southern youths from an East Texas rural high school. Comparisons were made by race and sex only to illuminate historical changes. Surveys of approximately 966 sophomores from 3 East Texas counties comprised the data base for surveys conducted in 1966 and 1972. Census data (1960-70) were examined to determine whether or not any significant historical changes had occurred in the socioeconomic makeup of the study counties. No significant historical change was observed in intensity of occupational aspiration among the respondents. Occupation remained in 1972, as in 1966, among the top 3 goals relative to the respondents, and was generally second after education, and followed by income. At both time periods occupation was evaluted only slightly higher by whites than blacks. Among black males the difference in magnitude between education and income narrowed as education decreased as the primary goal. (FF)

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HISTORICAL CHANGE IN OCCUPATIONAL FRAMES OF REFERENCE OF BLACK AND WHITE SOUTHERN YOUTH: 1966-1972*

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* * *

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Dr. William P. Kuvlesky - Texas A&M University
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The author, however, bears full responsibility for the content of this paper.

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THE PROBLEM*

An often-stated, although inadequately tested assumption among sociologists appears to be that the status orientations of today's youth are rising. This "revolution of rising aspirations" is not strictly confined to any single grouping of American youth, white or black, upper-class or lower, rural or urban, male or female. However, in a more specific sense the emphasis upon increased status seems to be unevenly distributed, and is particularly evident among Negro youth. For Negro youth, this emphasis may be viewed as one consequence of what Boskin (1968) has termed the black man's awareness that "his position in society is no longer static and confining." Marx (1969) notes with regard to Negroes, "black power has raised the hopes of some and the fears of others, perhaps both unrealistically."

Gans (1968) has stated that the social protest of the nineteen sixties concerned inequality, with the demand for greater equality coming largely from the young and the black. Thus, it would appear that the crux of the problem concerning rising status orientations centers around inequality of opportunity for certain groups of American youth to obtain the benefits indicative of higher status. These benefits are not only in the form of occupational rewards, but educational and other types of rewards as well.

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*This paper is intended as a progress report relative to part of a larger analysis of historical change in status orientations of rural East Texas youth. The author's contribution to the larger effort concerns primarily change in occupational status orientations, and when completed will be available in its entirety in the form of the author's Master's Thesis. Copies of the completed report may be obtained on request by writing the author, Department of Rural Sociology, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas.

American youth, for the most part, are socialized by the mass culture to aspire and expect more than they can often realistically obtain.[1/] This paradox, which incorporates the problem of unequal opportunity, is significant because it contains the seeds of alienation, unrest, and frustration with existing structures of society. One need only consider the riots in the cities, the anti-war demonstrations, and the spirit of rebellion within many youth movements of today in order to visualize possible societal implications of such inequalities. Thus it is important to develop and maintain a historical perspective based upon empirical investigation of historical change in the orientations of American youth.

The larger effort from which this paper is taken is limited to determining the nature and extent of historical change in the occupational status orientations of a limited number of East Texas rural high school sophomores over a six-year time span (1966-1972). However, the present effort will be directed toward a discussion of preliminary analysis, findings, and implications relative to the larger analysis. The specific objectives of this paper are to answer the following questions within the context of analysis completed thus far:

(1) Has significant historical change occurred across time relative to the occupational aspirations and expectations of East Texas rural sophomores in general, and to the respective race-sex categories in particular?

(2) To the extent that historical change has occurred, what is the nature of such change relative to the range of qualitative occupational type-level categories? In other words, in which specific areas of occupational choice has the most significant change taken place?

[1/] This is similar to ideas presented and developed in depth by Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Chapter V, "Continuities in the Theory of Social Structure and Anomie," pp. 161-194.

(3) From the answers to (1) and (2) above, what reasonable speculations about the larger body of American youth, and rural youth in particular, can be made and/or possibly developed for future testing?

It should be noted that the development of even a limited historical perspective could go a long way toward highlighting potential problem areas concerning those of today's youth who may well become the under-employed adults of tomorrow, frustrated and angry, and faced with the reality of unrealized aspirations due in large measure to social inequalities beyond their control.[2/] The possibility of future social upheaval in this regard should not be casually dismissed.

It has been stated (Broom and Glenn, 1965) that "Tensions are focused upon a new element in the national life: the transformation of Negroes from a voiceless people largely dependent upon white benefactors and vulnerable to white opponents to a people still vulnerable to whites but discovering new avenues of influence." The new avenues were paved with the legislative and judicial decisions of the Sixties bearing upon issues of civil rights, particularly concerning the reduction of racial discrimination in this country. It is not unreasonable to expect that Negroes would consequently aspire to increased status in greater numbers, and that rising aspirations would be reflected most clearly among the black youth who, as a group, may have been less effected by the inequalities of discrimination than their parents before them. In fact, Proshansky and Newton (1968) observed that the American Negro, regarding his own battle against

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[2/] Ibid, Chapter IV, "Social Structure and Anomie," pp. 131-160.

racial discrimination and inequality over the last decade, has been able to "achieve a new sense of kinship and feeling of purpose--a new, larger black identity...and the new young Negro is no longer willing to play the 'white man's game.'"

It remains indeterminate whether or not there will be enough satisfying jobs or even jobs of any kind, to go around for this young black generation, particularly since its members will be in competition for the better jobs of white middle-class America. Nor will the Negro youth be the only minority members competing in the labor market of tomorrow. These are relevant considerations given the fact that existing evidence regarding status orientations of white youth in America, regardless of race or socio-economic status, suggest that substantial numbers of white youth aspire to affluence and "the good life" while those who have it seem to want more of the same. Thus, except for a minority of middle and upper-middle class youth who appear to have rejected certain aspects of middle-class values,[3/] American youth, regardless of race, seem to be much-imbued with the success ethic of preceeding generations. That this is so for rural youth in general has been well documented in recent studies covering most of the southern United States (Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1966; Kuvlesky and Lever, 1967; Kuvlesky and Jacob, 1968) and several other regions of the country (Kuvlesky, 1970).

In summary, a partial historical perspective grounded in empirical research will be useful in pointing to what might be expected in the relatively near future by revealing both recent historical trends and the pre sent status of occupational orientations of East Texas rural youth. It is

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[3/] For an in-depth elaboration of this idea, see Charles Reich's The Greening of America, 1970.

the broad purpose of this paper to contribute toward the development of such a perspective, utilizing data from comparable populations of 1966 and 1972 rural high school sophomores as the basis for analysis.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The basic conceptual framework for analysis will be limited to delineation of selected variables, with each variable chosen for its theoretical utility over time as a likely indicator of some aspect of historical change in occupational orientations. Each variable studied will provide a portion of the general overall picture of historical change in the occupational orientations of rural East Texas high school sophomores during the six years, 1966-1972. Viewed collectively, the variables should tap historical change along selected dimensions of occupational choice, contributing to the eventual development of a composite view of overall historical change, limited assentially to the sample populations, but perhaps generalizable to comparable populations of rural southern youth.

The two data sets used in this study dealt with many other types of projections in addition to those concerning occupational orientations. Therefore, the logic of justification in the selection of variables for the present effort was two-fold. First, consideration was given those variables utilized in the data sets which generally concerned occupational orientations. Secondly, from among these the ones viewed by the author as most facilitative in assessing whether or not historical change in occupational orientations has occurred were selected for analysis. The variables selected for study relate to the following two dimensions of occupational choice:

(1) Status Dimension - status projections representing both the desire for (aspiration) and anticipation of (expectation) one's goals in terms of levels and types of occupational choice.

(2) Orientation Dimension - the strength of one's orientation with respect to the status projection, consisting of intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation.

It remains the opinion of the author that these two dimensions are the most logical points of departure for historical analysis because they are the most widely researched in the past, other dimensions relating to them in a tangential fashion.[4/] In the selection of study variables, the following conceptual elements as partially set forth by Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966), elaborated by Kuvlesky (1966, 1970) and utilized in studies by Kuvlesky and other colleagues in the recent past (1966, 1968) were chosen to analyze historical change in the status and orientation dimensions of occupational orientations.

Occupational Aspiration

This concept may be defined as an individual's most-desired and optimum preference for a lifetime job. Occupational aspirations will be analyzed here in terms of status levels and intensity of aspirations.

Intensity of Aspiration

This concept refers to a measure of the strength or intensity of desire for an aspiration; i.e., the intensity of the respondent's desire for his occupational aspiration. It is derived from the respondent's placement of occupational attainment relative to other life goals. The higher the respondent values occupational attainment, the greater his intensity of aspiration is assumed to be.

[4/] Other possible dimensions of occupational choice which are relevant to considerations of historical change deal with job values, realism, the effects of significant others upon occupational choice, and the psychological aspects of occupational choice.

Occupational Expectation

This concept may be defined as the occupation or lifetime job which an individual expects to have. Occupational expectations will be analyzed here in terms of status levels only, as the measure of certainty of occupational expectation does not appear to be a valid indicator of certainty, based upon a limited test-re-test comparison made by the author. The stimulus question asked the respondent to indicate how certain they were of having their occupational expectation as a job most of their lives. The respondents were to circle one of the following responses indicating their degree of certainty: Very Certain, Certain, Not Very Certain, Uncertain, Very Uncertain. Based upon the results of the test-retest, it would appear that the scale discriminated very poorly between degrees of certainty. It was concluded that the certainty of expectation item was either not a valid indicator of certainty or the respondents were indeed extremely uncertain. Regardless of which was really the case, the decision was made to delete the item from historical analysis, and it is consequently omitted from consideration in this paper.

The above variables constitute the universe of consideration relative to the present paper.[5/] However, a further variable which is related to the status dimension of occupational orientations and has not yet been analyzed should be mentioned, since it is to be included in the thesis of

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[5/] For information on previous analysis of the East Texas (1966) contact relative to the elements of the status and orientation dimensions of occupational orientations, see Bilquis A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Orientations and Perceptions of Opportunity: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth in a Depressed Area," unpublished Master's Thesis, Texas A&M University, 1968; W. P. Kuvlesky and G. W. Ohlendorf, "A Rural-Urban Comparison of the Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys," Rural Sociology, 33 (June, 1968), pp. 274-283; W. P. Kuvlesky and D. H. Reynolds, Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of Youth: A Bibliography of Research Literature I, Departmental Information Report No. 70-6 (College Station: Texas Agricultural Experiment Station. Texas A&M University, December, 1970).

which this paper is but a progress report. This variable is anticipatory goal deflection, and as a concept refers to the difference between status levels of an individual's aspiration and expectation. The difference may be positive (expectation higher than aspiration), negative (expectation lower than aspiration), or zero (expectation and aspiration at the same status level).[6/]

In summary, the scope of this paper will cover preliminary analyses and findings regarding historical change in occupational aspirations, occupational expectations, and intensity of aspiration. Comparisons will be made by race and sex only, as it is the opinion of the author that these comparative variables should illuminate the most historical change. Once this has been accomplished, it might be useful in future analyses to make further comparisons on the basis of SES, religion, family size, or other comparative variables.

6/ For information regarding analyses of the East Texas (1966) contact which directly concerned anticipatory goal deflection, see J. T. Pelham and B. A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Projections and Perception of Occupational Opportunity of Rural Boys in East Texas, Texas Youth Study Report #2, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Texas A&M University, October, 1967; W. P. Kuvlesky and G. W. Ohlendorf (op cit.); and K.A. Thomas and N. L. Jacob, "A Longitudinal Analysis of Change in Occupational and Educational Orientations of East Texas Boys: A Racial Comparison," paper presented at annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Washington, D.C., August, 1970.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Regarding historical change in the orientations of rural youth, specific knowledge of an empirical nature is limited, and there is a particular lack of historical comparisons of comparable populations across time. However, in a more general sense, Kuvlesky demonstrated rather convincingly that the occupational aspirations of rural youth were high relative to opportunities for attainment (Kuvlesky, 1966:7), that their occupational goals were not low relative to existing societal occupational opportunities, nor were they low in an absolute sense (Kuvlesky, 1966:7-10) when farming as an occupation was interpreted as a high-level aspiration. Moreover, Kuvlesky suggested that rural-urban differences in occupational expectations of youth were possibly due more to effects of class-lined variables than the distinction of rural-urban residence. In short, Kuvlesky's judgments provided a new interpretation of existing evidence in that the general assertion of low occupational status orientations among rural youth and farm-reared youth in particular, was seriously questioned. Perhaps for the first time, rural youth could be viewed as maintaining relatively high status orientations in a manner comparable with that of urban youth.

Slocum (1968) reported results from a 1964 study of students in rural Washington high schools which may be partially interpreted as supportive of Kuvlesky's contentions regarding occupational status orientations of rural farm and non-farm youth. In this study, professional and technical occupations were more preferred by farm and non-farm youth alike, with fewer farm than non-farm males preferring these levels. However, this difference is reversed if one considers preference to farm as a high-level occupation.

A major reference point for viewing historical change in status orientations of rural youth by race, sex, and SES is found in the results of a 1966 study by Kuvlesky of rural East Texas high school sophomores (Pelham and Ameen, 1967). The results of this study confirm and elaborate upon the contention that rural youth have relatively high occupational aspirations. As with Slocum's study, large numbers of the respondents desired professional type occupations, followed by skilled white and blue-collar occupations. Moreover, while few respondents aspired to farming, most of those who did could well be viewed as aspiring to an occupation comparable to professional occupations, particularly given the need for higher education and large sums of capital usually necessary to operate a modern farm.

To summarize, it would appear that over the past forty years rural youth in greater numbers have been aspiring to professional and skilled occupations. This is consistent with the idea that the status orientations of rural youth are both increasing historically and are at a high level...perhaps unrealistically high in many instances (Slocum, 1966:186-187). Fewer youth seem to be aspiring to farm, yet farming as an occupation has experienced such historical change in the types of resources required for modern farming that it can well be viewed today as a high-level occupation. Beyond these limited statements however, a review of the literature indicates a lack of studies of comparable populations researched at historically different points in time with respect to the same variables and utilizing the same instruments and modes of analysis. Furthermore, very little has been reported concerning historical change in the orientations of rural females, regardless of race. Thus, based on past research, it remains difficult to construct any but the most general historical framework from the literature.

A Historical Overview: 1960 to the Present

In contrast to the relative calm of the Fifties, the decade of the Sixties was an active, energetic, and sometimes volatile combination of change and resistance to change. Within this decade the social order in America was racked by an upheaval of racial consciousness inspired by legislative and judicial decisions which forecast greater possibilities of racial equality and social justice for the American Negro.

A major factor of indeterminate influence upon the country, but particularly upon the lives of American youth, has been the war in Indochina. United States conduct of the war has touched the conscience of many American youth as a widening credibility gap between the Government and the citizenry of this country. The effects of this credibility gap are miltiform: one possible consequence of this distrust and dissatisfaction being perhaps a reduction in the numbers of youth orienting themselves toward military and political careers. Specific concern has also been felt among young American males regarding the uncertainties and inequalities of the draft, which has historically been a major factor in the lives of many American males.

Another area of historical change since 1960 is the political scene. A sense of alienation from the seat and control of politics and the government seems to have manifested itself across socioeconomic levels and age groupings. This alienation has "jumped dramatically" since 1966, in the opinion of pollster Louis Harris (Lisagor, 1972).

Also, with the Federal Government leading the way in the Sixties for the rise of the Welfare State, certain aspects of the W.A.S.P.[7/] work ethic

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[7/] Abbreviation for White Anglo-Saxon Protestant

have been seriously questioned. This in turn poses questions regarding a possible historical change in outlook toward the idea of an occupation by some children of welfare recipients who may have become partially socialized into a welfare rather than a work ethic.

Beyond welfare considerations, there is another area of historical change which is bound to have some effect upon American youth. This is the "emancipation of the American woman" via the Women's Liberation Movement. As a result, it is possible that American girls in increasing numbers will both desire and expect to enter professional and skilled occupations, regardless of race or place of residence.

Finally, perhaps Reich (1970) is correct in chronicling the rise of a new consciousness in America, or at least a multi-lateral shifting of levels of consciousness among young Americans. One look at the Civil Rights movement and the rise of a Black identity, particularly among young Negroes, is sufficient evidence that the American Negro is acquiring a new consciousness. This consciousness is both similar to and different from Reich's consciousness of the predominantly white middle class. It has its restless, emotional, and volatile aspects as well as those of rationality, foresight, and patience. How each of these changes have impacted upon the goals and desires of American youth, rural or urban, is at present largely a matter of speculation. However, it is hoped that this paper will provide some empirical insights into what observable effects, if any, exist.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Source and Collection of Data

Surveys of rural East Texas high school sophomores from three East Texas counties comprise the data base for this thesis. The surveys were conducted in 1966 and 1972 in a manner designed to assure maximum comparability of the data relative to assessing whether or not historical change had occurred. The original choice of counties was made on the basis of their low-income level and population density, their agricultural nature and lack of major industrial development within the counties, and the fact that each county was relatively far from any major urban center. In short, the selection of counties was made with the intention of obtaining as ideally as possible a representative low-income rural sample.

Census data (1960-1970) was examined in order to determine whether or not any significant historical changes had occurred in the socioeconomic makeup of the study counties, with the result being that the counties appear today, as in 1960, to be representative of economically poor, sparsely populated and primarily agricultural rural counties, Table 1.

In 1966, group interviews of the sophomore classes were conducted in twenty-three high schools, only one of which was racially integrated. In 1972, however, only ten schools comprised the sample, with twelve all-black schools having closed due to the effects of integration and consolidation during the six years. At both time periods the field work was supervised and conducted by trained graduate students from the Department of Rural Sociology at Texas A&M University.[8/] In preparation for each

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[3/]The author is indebted to John Pelham and George Ohlendorf for the collection of the 1966 data set; and to David E. Wright, Jr. for assisting and advising me in the collection of the 1972 data set.

TABLE 1

SELECTED INDICATORS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE STUDY COUNTIES (1966-1972)

County and year[C]		Total Population (thousands)	Negroes (%)	Low income[A] families (%)	Median family income	Unskilled Labor[B] Force (%)
Burleson	1966	11	31	59	2451.00	43
	1972	10	28	50	5337.00	54
Leon	1966	10	38	67	1946.00	44
	1972	9	31	53	5130.00	50
San Jacinto	1966	6	52	69	1737.00	54
	1972	7	42	54	4413.00	46

[A] 1966 - families with less than $3000 annual income.
1972 - families with less than $4000 annual income.

[B] Includes operatives, service workers, laborers.

[C] Source: U.S.Census Bureau Data for 1960 and 1972.

interview, a phone call was made to the principal of each school to request permission to interview the sophomore class and generally explaining the nature of the research. Each phone call was followed by a letter to the principal to confirm interview data and times. In all instances both the principals, and later the students, were assured the complete anonymity of the students' responses. Moreover, the students were told they did not have to answer anything which they did not want to answer. However, the need for their maximum honest and sincere cooperation was stressed. At each school the surveys were group administered, the sizes of the groups at both time periods varying from less than twenty to more than one hundred students. Overall rapport with the students was generally poor, some instances being more preferable than others. Structural conditions relative to the interview situations varied within and across time; the greatest range of variability being in 1966 when interviews were conducted in very poor, segregated, all-black rural schools. In 1972 the structural conditions were far more equitable. It is my opinion that these differences should not directly effect the quality of the data for two reasons: (1) It is assumed that the students were as straightforward as possible in their responses; (2) and maximum care was directed in 1972 toward maximum replication of the 1966 contact in all aspects of field work, data collection, and methodological procedures in order to maximize historical comparability of the data. Although some of the schools in 1972 had been remodeled, and in two instances rebuilt, the composite student populations in 1972 were generally similar to those in 1966 regarding aspects of age, family background attributes, SES, race-sex composition, and place of residence, Table 2.

TABLE 2

SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS AND FAMILIES 1966-1972

YEAR	RESPONDENTS' MEDIAN AGE	IDENTITY OF MAIN BREADWINNER (percent)						JOB OF MAIN BREADWINNER (percent)			
		All Sophomores		Negroes		Whites		Manager/ official	Skilled	Operative	Unskilled
		Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother				
1966	16	79	14	69	19	86	11	23	19	12	24
1972	16	73	18	58	28	83	11	20	20	11	20

YEAR	EDUCATION OF FATHER BY RACE (percent)			
	Negroes		Whites	
	H.S. Graduate	No info	H.S. Graduate	No info
1966	49	30	49	11
1972	39	42	34	20

All sophomores present at each school on the day of the interview were administered a questionnaire composed both of fixed-response and open-ended questions, with no attempt being made at either time period to contact students who were absent. Administration at both time periods was accomplished by a single interviewer reading each question aloud, and proceeding only when all students had had time to respond. Graduate student proctors were on hand to assist in passing out materials and answering students' questions if necessary. The number of rural sophomores interviewed in 1966 was 486 (91.7% of those enrolled), as compared with 480 sophomores interviewed in 1972 (92.7% of those enrolled), Table 3. The nature and placement of items in the interview schedules did not vary between 1966 and 1972 except for an additional attachment in 1972. This addition, however, will not be utilized in the present analysis.

Thus, concerning the source and collection of data, it will be assumed that the respondent populations for the two time periods are sufficiently similar in relevant attributes to allow historical comparisons to be made from the data. In short, the only major significant change between 1966 and 1972 regarding the populations appears to be the introduction of racial integration into all of the schools. What effects they may have had upon the occupational orientations of the students is indeterminate. Only one school was even partially integrated in 1966, and the degree of integration was not sufficient to serve as a control for historical change due to effects of integration across time.

TABLE 3

Number of Sophomores Interviewed in Each School Compared With the Number Enrolled.

County	High School	Number Interviewed	Number Enrolled	Percent Interviewed
Burleson	Caldwell	97	103	94.2
	Somerville	38	42	90.5
	Snook	25	35	71.4
Leon	Buffalo	35	36	97.2
	Centerville	58	58	100.0
	Normangee	37	40	92.5
	Oakwood	30	33	90.9
	Leon	36	37	97.3
San Jacinto	Cold Springs	72	80	90.0
	Shepherd	52	54	96.3
TOTALS 1972	10	480	518	92.7%
1966	23	486	530	91.7%

Indicators and Measurements

Status dimension of occupational orientations

Occupational aspiration - an open-ended stimulus question was used to obtain responses for occupational aspirations.[9/] Each respondent was asked what job he would most desire as a lifetime job, given complete freedom of choice. The respondents' answers to this question were classified in terms of a modified form of the Census scheme to be elaborated later in this section. As noted previously, the sequence and ordering of all the stimulus questions were identical at both time periods, thus insuring maximum comparability of the responses.

Occupational expectation - each respondent was asked to name the job they really expected to have most of their lives. As with aspirations, the question was open-ended and the respondents were encouraged to be as specific and detailed in their answers as possible.

Orientation dimension of occupational orientations

Intensity of occupational aspiration - the stimulus question asked the respondents to rank seven life goals in the order of importance to them. The relative ranking of the attainment of the occupational goal is considered to be a measure of intensity of occupational aspiration. The possible range of scores is 1-7; the lower the score, the greater the intensity of occupational aspiration is assumed to be. For comparative analysis the scores will be grouped as follows:

[9/] See Appendix I for a listing of the relevant stimulus questions utilized for this paper.

Strong (ranked 1-2)
Intermediate (ranked 3-5)
Weak (ranked 6-7)

In addition to the attainment of one's most-desired job, included as life goals were free time, education, residence, material goods, and family.

Occupational classification schemata

Regarding this paper, the occupational responses to the open-ended questions were classified according tc two occupational classification schemes, the second being a collapsed version of the first. The first scheme (Scheme I) is of primary utility in studying qualitative type-differences in the occupational choices of the two populations by race, sex, and race-sex groupings in order to identify changes which might be missed in a more general classification. In this classification there are thirteen type-categories (including housewife) within which specific occupations may be classified according to a two-digit code. The raw respondes to the open-ended items were coded according to Scheme I. These listings were then collapsed into a second classification scheme consisting of nine status levels or categories of occupational choice (Scheme II). ranging from high professional to unskilled laborer.[10/]

Schemes I and II are presented in combined fashion as follows, and include examples of the categories into which the raw responses were coded.

[10/] Full distributions of responses according to Scheme II are available upon request.

Scheme I	Scheme II
1 High Professional	
	72 Doctor, lawyer, scientist (more than 4 years of college)
2 Low Professional	
	71 Military officer
	73 Teacher, accountant, technical worker, registered nurse (at least 4 years of college)
	74 Draftsman, architect (some college or special school)
3 Glamour	
	81 Entertainer or professional sports--pro football, actress, race car driver, pop singer, test pilot
4 Farm owner, managerial, official of company or business, or government office	
	51 Store manager, own a gas station
	11 Farmer or rancher
5 Sales/clerical	
	61 Clerk in a store, door-to-door salesman, traveling salesman, bank teller, cashier, secretary
6 Skilled trade	
	31 Beautician, electrician, plumber, barber, machinist, foreman, practical nurse
7 Operative	
	41 Truck driver, factory production worker, lathe operator
	42 Enlisted man in military
8 Unskilled laborer	
	21 Farm laborer, worker, or migrant worker
	22 Laborer--gardener, maid, janitor, waitress
9 Housewife and other	
	91 Other
	95 Housewife[11/]
0 No information	

[11/] It should be noted that in the past, "housewife" has sometimes been treated as a low-level, unskilled category. However, in the present analysis, it will be viewed as a category apart from unskilled labor and designated indeterminate status with respect to skill requirements. Thus it will still be possible to analyze historical change in orientations toward this category without negative implications regarding questions of status.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Design for Analysis

Analysis will be structured into four parts, each of which will concern historical change by race, sex, and race-sex categories. Occasional reference will be made to an aggregate combined category representing all sophomores in the samples, regardless of race or sex. The first part of analysis will deal with comparisons of frequency and percentage distributions for occupational aspirations and expectations (T_1-T_2). Chi square and tests for significant differences between percentages will be used when appropriate to evaluate the probability of observed differences being explained by chance variation. Occupational Scheme II will be utilized throughout all sections of analysis as the comparative framework within which to study historical change.

The second part of analysis will concern historical change in occupational aspirations, with significant changes in respondents' orientations to specific occupational type-level categories being noted and discussed.

The third part of analysis will be to explore historical change in occupational expectations in a manner similar to the section for aspirations. Significant patterns of historical change in expectations will be noted and compared with related patterns of change in aspirations.

The fourth and final section of analysis will focus upon historical change in intensity of aspiration in terms of the general rank ordering of occupation ("having the job one wants most") relative to other life goals--particularly education and income.

Part One: Comparisons of the Distributions

The data were ordered by race, sex, and race-sex categories, in addition to the combined "all sophomores" category. This yielded nine respondent-categories each for aspirations and expectations, and a total of eighteen distributions, Table 4. Comparisons were made of frequency

CATEGORIES OF RESPONDENTS BY ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

VARIABLE	SEX		RACE			RACE-SEX				TOTAL
Aspirations	~~MALES~~	~~FEMALES~~	~~BLACKS~~	~~WHITES~~	ALL SOPHS	~~BM~~	~~WM~~	~~BF~~	~~WF~~	9
Expectations										9
										18

distributions for aspirations and expectations by each of the respondent categories (T_1-T_2). Except for three out of eighteen possible distributions, chi square values were obtained at or beyond the .05 level of significance in all cases, Tables 5 and 6. These three were the distributions for white males and black females regarding aspirations, and white females for expectations. However, failure to obtain statistical significance did not preclude analysis of historical change relative to certain occupational categories within these distributions.

The percentage distributions for each respondent category (T_1-T_2) were compared by the occupational categories of Scheme II (p. 21) in order to determine the minimum significant percentages necessary to identify historical change in specific occupational categories. The Lawshe-Baker Nomograph Test[12/] for significant differences between two percentages was utilized to

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12/ For further explanation regarding this test, see Downie and Heath, Basic Statistical Methods, 2nd ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1965, Chapter 12, pp. 150-151.

Table 5. SUMMARY X^2 RESULTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS (T_1-T_2) BY RESPONDENT CATEGORIES

RESPONDENT CATEGORY	N_{T-1}	N_{T-2}	$\sum N$	X^2	d.f.	? < P < ?
E.T. Sophomores	479	463	942	39.60	8	.001> P
Males	249	231	480	39.77	8	.001> P
Females	226	218	444	16.36	5	.001< P <.01
Negroes	196	192	388	24.47	8	.001< P <.01
Whites	271	262	533	21.16	8	.001< P <.01
Negro males	98	98	196	30.70	8	.001> P
White males	141	126	267	8.86	5	.10 < P <.20
Negro females	97	92	189	5.55	5	.30 < P <.50
White females	127	135	262	22.86	5	.001> P

Table 6. SUMMARY X^2 RESULTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS (T_1-T_2) BY RESPONDENT CATEGORIES

RESPONDENT CATEGORY	N_{T-1}	N_{T-2}	$\sum N$	X^2	d.f.	? < P < ?
E.T. Sophomores	479	463	942	51.65	9	.001> P
Males	249	230	479	40.40	8	.001> P
Females	230	232	462	20.07	6	.001< P<.01
Negroes	196	192	388	39.64	9	.001> P
Whites	272	271	543	18.98	9	.02 < P<.05
Negro males	98	98	196	28.46	8	.001> P
White males	143	132	275	15.69	7	.02 < P<.05
Negro females	98	86	184	13.39	5	.02 = P
White females	127	133	260	2.22	4	.50 < P<.70

establish criterion for statistical significance at the .05 level. This technique yielded a minimum significant percentage difference (T_1-T_2) for each respondent category, Table 7. For each distribution, percentage

Table 7.
MINIMUM PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES FOR SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL CHANGE AT .05 LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE 1966-1972

RESPONDENT CATEGORY	ASPIRATIONS	EXPECTATIONS
All Sophomores	6%	6%
Males	6%	6%
Females	6%	6%
Blacks	7%	7%
Whites	8%	8%
Black Males	9%	9%
White Males	10%	10%
Black Females	9%	9%
White Females	9%	9%

changes which were far less than the required percentage for significance were viewed as indicative of no historical change. Those changes approaching significance were viewed as weak trends, perhaps indicative of sociologically, if not statistically relevant historical change. Finally, percentage changes at or beyond significance were treated as substantive differences indicative of major historical changes or patterns. A hypothetical example of change in female's aspirations to glamour jobs will illustrate the way in which historical change was identified, Table 8. From this illustration, females would be viewed as evidencing no change: white females as tending toward an increase in glamour orientations; and black females as evidencing a significant decrease in aspirations to glamour jobs. For a detailed summary presentation of Scheme II distributions and historical change in occupational orientations, see Appendix II ,Tables 1 and 2.

Table 8. HYPOTHETICAL ILLUSTRATION OF HISTORICAL CHANGE IN GLAMOUR ASPIRATIONS AMONG FEMALES, 1966-1972.

	FEMALES	WF	BF
1966	10%	4%	12%
1972	12%	11%	2%
Difference (%)	+ 2%	+ 7%	-10%
Minimum sig. diff. at P=.05	6%	9%	9%
Statistically sig. change	NS	NS	S
Sociologically sig. change	NO CHANGE	INCREASING TREND	SIGNIFICANT DECREASE

Part Two: Occupational Aspirations

Historical change in occupational aspirations in 1972 relative to 1966 was most evident among males, and more evident among blacks than whites. Of the combined race-sex categories, Negro males evidenced the most change, both in terms of statistically significant differences (% change $\geq$ minimum significant difference) and in trends approaching statistical significance (% change slightly less than minimum significant difference), Table 9. Females evidenced the least historical change in aspirations, with black females evidencing no significant change in any occupational category. This finding is in conjunction with previously mentioned non-significant chi-square results.

Table 9. INCIDENCE OF HISTORICAL CHANGE IN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY RESPONDENT CATEGORIES, 1966-1972

TYPES OF HISTORICAL CHANGES	MALES	FEMALES	BLACKS	WHITES	ALL SOPHS	BM	WM	BF	WF
Total Significant increases	3	1	2	0	1	2	1	0	0
Total significant decreases	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0
Total significant changes	5	2	3	1	2	4	2	0	1
Total non-significant trends	1	0	0	2	2	2	0	2	2
Minimum sig.differences (%)	6%	6%	7%	8%	6%	9%	10%	9%	9%

An inspection of qualitative changes by job category across distributions revealed two general patterns of change. Among males there was a general decrease from 1966-1972 in aspirations for low professional occupations, with black males evidencing a 14% decrease (25% in 1966 to 11% in 1972), and white males decreasing by 10% (30% in 1966 to 20% in 1972) their aspirations to low-professional jobs.

The second pattern of historical change which emerged was a significant increase among black youth in aspirations for glamour jobs. Black males' aspirations for glamour occupations increased significantly by 11% (15% in 1966 to 26% in 1972), while black females evidenced a definite trend in the same direction with a 7% increase (10% in 1966 to 17% in 1972) in aspirations for glamour jobs. Among white youth, only white females evidenced a slight increasing trend to choose glamour, and this trend was identical in nature to that observed for black females. Other significant qualitative changes were as follows:

1. A 12% increase in white male aspirants to occupations at the managerial/official level (16% in 1966 to 28% in 1972).
2. A 10% decrease in black male aspirants to operative-level jobs (17% in 1966 to 7% in 1972).
3. An increasing trend among black males toward the skilled trades (11% in 1966 to 18% in 1972).
4. Among white females a significant 14% decrease in aspirations to skilled trades (17% in 1966 to 3% in 1972).

A final and particularly important pattern relative to this analysis is the general increase in those males, particularly black males, who did not respond to the stimulus question for occupational aspirations. This

pattern extended to all race-sex groupings in a lesser degree (Table 10),

Table 10. HISTORICAL CHANGE IN PERCENTAGES OF "NO INFORMATION" RESPONSES FOR OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, 1966-1972

	SEX		RACE		RACE-SEX				ALL SOPHS
	M	F	B	W	BM	WM	BF	WF	
1966	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%
1972	10%	2%	9%	4%	15%	5%	2%	2%	6%
Difference (%)	+9%	+1%	+8%	+2%	+14%	+4%	+1%	0%	+5%

and could possibly be indicative of an evolving negative orientation among the respondents in the study area toward survey-type research. Although there is no immediate evidence to indicate such as the case, the observed difference remains and is worthy of further investigation. One important implication in this regard is that the historical increase in "no response" necessitates a more conservative interpretation of other observed historical changes. The magnitude of this effect is indeterminate, but is definitely a consideration in analysis and interpretation of the data.

When all race-sex categories were combined into a total distribution of East Texas sophomores, the significant patterns remain a <u>decrease</u> in aspirations to low-professional jobs and an <u>increase</u> in aspirations to glamour jobs. For a more concise and detailed summary presentation of historical change in occupational aspirations of East Texas rural youth, the reader is referred to Appendix , Table 1.

<u>Part Three: Occupational Expectations</u>

Historical change in occupational expectations was slightly more evident among males than females, and among blacks than whites. However, when viewed as race-sex groupings black females and black males respectively evidenced the most historical change in expectations, <u>Table 11</u>.

Table 11. INCIDENCE OF HISTORICAL CHANGE IN OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS BY RESPONDENT CATEGORIES, 1966-1972

TYPES OF HISTORICAL CHANGES	MALES	FEMALES	BLACKS	WHITES	ALL SOPHS	BM	WM	BF	WF
Total Significant increases	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0
Total significant decreases	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	0
Total significant changes	3	2	2	1	2	3	1	4	0
Total non-significant trends	1	2	2	0	1	2	3	1	1
Minimum sig.differences (%)	6%	6%	7%	8%	6%	9%	10%	9%	9%

The most marked changes in blacks' expectations were as follows:

1. Black females decreased by 16% their expectations for low-professional occupations (41% in 1966 to 25% in 1972).
2. Black females decreased by 9% their expectations for the skilled trades (from 16% in 1966 to 7% in 1972).
3. Black females increased by 10% their expectations to become housewives (4% in 1966 to 14% in 1972).
4. Black males evidenced a 15% decrease in expectations for low-professional jobs (25% in 1966 to 10% in 1972).
5. Black males also evidenced a 12% decrease in expectations for operative-type jobs (23% in 1966 to 11% in 1972).

Among white youth very little historical change occurred in regard to occupational expectations. In fact, the only statistically significant change was an 11% decrease in expectations for low professional jobs (26% in 1966 to 15% in 1972). This finding fits the general pattern previously noted of decreasing expectations among all respondents for low-professional jobs. White males evidenced increasing trends toward the skilled trades (21% in 1966 to 26% in 1972), as did black males (13% in 1966 to 21% in 1972). To a lesser extent there was also a slight increasing trend among white males in expectations for unskilled occupations (2% in 1966 to 9% in 1972).

Aspirations as compared with expectations - it is important to note that the general decrease in orientations toward low-professional occupations was prominent for both aspirations and expectations, Table 12. However there

Table 12. SIGNIFICANT DECREASES (%) IN ORIENTATIONS TO LOW-PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS BY ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS, 1966-1972

VARIABLE	SEX		RACE		RACE-SEX			
	M	F	B	W	BM	WM	BF	WF
Aspirations	-11%	0%	-8%	-7%*	-14%	-10%	0%	0%
Expectations	-11%	-11%	-13%	-8%	-15%	-10%	-16%	-6%*

*Trends approaching statistical significance at .05 level.

was no comparable increase in glamour expectations similar to that observed for aspirations, Table 13.

Table 13. SIGNIFICANT INCREASES (%) IN GLAMOUR ORIENTATIONS BY ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS, 1966-1972

VARIABLE	SEX		RACE		RACE-SEX			
	M	F	B	W	BM	WM	BF	WF
Aspirations	+6%	+7%	+9%	0%	+11%	0%	7%*	7%*
Expectations	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%**	0%	0%	0%

*Trends
**BM evidenced a 5% decrease (14% in 1966 to 9% in 1972).

It is significant that regarding expectations, far more respondents in 1972 than 1966 indicated "no information," Table 14.

Table 14. HISTORICAL CHANGE IN PERCENTAGES OF "NO INFORMATION" RESPONSES FOR OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, 1966-1972

	SEX		RACE		RACE-SEX				ALL SOPHS
	M	F	B	W	BM	WM	BF	WF	
1966	2%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	0%	2%	2%
1972	13%	6%	14%	6%	19%	8%	9%	4%	7%
Difference (%)	+11%	+5%	+13%	+4%	+17%	+6%	+9%	+2%	+7%

This increase was definitely more pronounced for expectations than aspirations, and was most evident among blacks, particularly the males, Table 15.

Table 15. HISTORICAL CHANGE IN PERCENTAGES OF "NO INFORMATION" RESPONSES BY ASPIRATION AND EXPECTATION, 1966-1972

VARIABLE	SEX		RACE		RACE-SEX			
	M	F	B	W	BM	WM	BF	WF
Aspirations	+9%	+1%	+8%	+2%	+14%	+4%	+1%	0%
Expectations	+11%	+5%	+13%	+4%	+17%	+6%	+9%	+2%

Of the apparent general historical decrease in both aspirations and expectations to low-professional jobs, Table 12, it is important to note that most of this decrease occurred in sub-category #73 of the low professional category (p. 21); i.e., those professions normally requiring at least four years of college preparation to obtain, Tables 16 and 17. Included in this level are teachers, technical workers, accountants, and registered nurses, to list just a few. Thus it is a possibility worthy of further investigation that the general historical decline in orientations to this category is indicative of a decreasing emphasis upon attending college among 1972 East Texas rural sophomores.[13/] Another low professional sub-category deserving mention is #71 for orientations to careers as military officers. In this sub-category there is a consistent decline evidenced in both aspirations and expectations by rural males to a career as a military officer. The most dramatic change in this respect was a 9% decline in black males' expectations (9% in 1966 to 0% in 1972), Table 17. Regarding

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13/ This question will be explored further in analysis of historical change in educational orientations scheduled to begin in the near future by colleagues at Texas A&M University, and derived from the same data sets utilized in this paper.

Table 16. PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN LOW-PROFESSIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY SUB-CATEGORIES, 1966-1972

SUB-CATEGORY	SEX		RACE		RACE-SEX			
	M	F	B	W	BM	WM	BF	WF
#71 Military officer	-4%	0%	-3%	-2%	-5%	-4%	0%	0%
#73 Professions with 4 yrs. college req'd	-3%	0%	-6%	-4%	-8%	-1%	0%	0%
#74 Some college or special school req'd	-4%	0%	+1%	-1%	-1%	-5%	0%	0%

Table 17. PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN LOW-PROFESSIONAL EXPECTATIONS BY SUB-CATEGORIES, 1966-1972

SUB-CATEGORY	SEX		RACE		RACE-SEX			
	M	F	B	W	BM	WM	BF	WF
#71 Military officer	-4%	0%	-2%	-1%	-9%	-1%	0%	0%
#73 Professions with 4 yrs. college req'd	-3%	-12%	-10%	-5%	-4%	-3%	-16%	-8%
#74 Some college or special school req'd	-4%	+1%	-1%	-2%	-2%	-6%	0%	+2%

aspirations, the decreases were 4% for white males (4% in 1966 to 0% in 1972) and 5% for black males (6% in 1966 to 1% in 1972). Thus, it would appear that among rural males a military life as an officer is significantly less desirable in 1972 than in 1966.

There is one more sub-category in which sociologically significant change has occurred. This is the "farming and ranching" sub-category under the more general managerial/official category. Among white males aspiring to farm or ranch, there was an increase of 6% between 1966 and 1972 (from 11% to 17%). Moreover, regarding expectations to farm, there was a slight 1% increase among white males in 1972. This increase becomes important when viewed in conjunction with change in farming aspirations, for in 1966 5% more white males expected than aspired to farm. However, in 1972 expectations and aspirations to farm were at an equal 17%. Thus, it is possible that white males in 1972 are more consistent and perhaps more serious toward their farming orientations than in 1966. Moreover, regarding aspirations to farm, it appears that the pattern of historically decreasing aspirations to farm which has been observed in the past twenty years has changed with aspirations leveling off, it not increasing slightly.

Part Three: Intensity of Occupational Aspirations

Analysis of both rank-ordering and mean rank scores for occupation revealed no significant historical change in intensity of occupational aspirations among the respondents, 1966-1972. At both time periods occupation was ranked second after education, with income generally following as third in importance. However slight differences of note were observable in comparisons of mean rank scores for education and occupation as follows:

1. Black males in 1972, although still ranking education as first, evidenced a decreased emphasis (mean rank higher) upon education (mean rank of 1.8 in 1966 vs. 2.9 in 1972), Table 18. This shift in magnitude is in keeping with the

Table 18. MEAN RANK SCORES FOR EDUCATION, 1966-1972 BY COMBINED RACE-SEX CATEGORIES

CATEGORY	T_1	T_2
Negro males	1.8	2.9
White males	2.3	3.0
Negro females	1.9	2.0
White females	1.9	2.5

general pattern of change observed for black males in orientations away from the low-professional occupations which normally require a college education.

2. For occupation, the mean rankings were the same (3.0) at both time periods for males and females, Table 19.

Table 19. MEAN RANK SCORES FOR OCCUPATION, 1966-1972 BY SEX

CATEGORY	T_1	T_2
Males	3.0	3.0
Females	3.0	3.0

3. Whites at both time periods evidenced slightly lower mean scores for occupation than blacks, indicating a slight but consistently higher evaluation of occupation than blacks, Table 20.

Table 20. MEAN RANK SCORES FOR OCCUPATIONS 1966-1972 BY RACE

CATEGORY	T_1	T_2
Negroes	3.2	3.1
Whites	2.9	2.8

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Historical Change in Aspirations: 1966-1972

I. Changes by SEX - males evidenced more change than females, 1966-1972.

A. Males

1. Decreases
   a. Fewer males in 1972 than 1966 wanted low-professional jobs, particularly in military careers and jobs requiring a college education.
   b. Fewer males in 1972 wanted skilled jobs.
   c. A slight trend away from aspirations for clerical and sales jobs was observed.

2. Increases
   a. Strong increase in glamour aspirations, particularly among black males, was observed.
   b. More males in 1972 than 1966 wanted managerial and official-type jobs (mostly among white males) with a 6% historical increase in white males desiring to farm or ranch.
   c. Increase in "no information" responses, mostly among black males.

B. Females

1. Decreases
   a. Fewer females, particularly white females, wanted skilled jobs in 1972.
   b. Slightly fewer black females wanted high-professional (more than 4 years of college required) jobs in 1972.

2. Increases
   a. More females wanted glamour jobs in 1972. This change was about equally consistent for black and white females alike.

   b. Slightly more females wanted to be housewives in 1972, particularly among white females with a 6% increase observed

C. Consistent Sex Patterns: Historically increasing glamour aspirations among males and females.

II. Changes by RACE - blacks evidenced slightly more change than whites, 1966-1972.

A. Blacks

1. Decreases
   a. Fewer blacks in 1972 wanted low-professional jobs, particularly in military careers and jobs requiring a college education.

   b. Fewer black males wanted operative jobs in 1972.

   c. Slightly fewer black males wanted clerical and sales type jobs in 1972.

   d. Slightly fewer black females in 1972 wanted high-professional jobs (requiring more than 4 years of college).

2. Increases
   a. More blacks, mostly black males, wanted glamour jobs in 1972.

   b. Slightly more black males in 1972 wanted jobs in the skilled trades.

   c. A strong increase in "no information" responses was noted, and was most evident among black males.

B. Whites

1. Decreases
   a. Fewer whites, particularly females, wanted skilled jobs in 1972.

   b. Slightly fewer whites wanted low-professional jobs, particularly among white males with respect to military officer careers and jobs requiring some college or special school.

2. Increases
   a. More white males wanted manager and official jobs in 1972. Of particular note was a 6% increase (from 11% to 17%) in the numbers of white males wanting to farm or ranch.

   b. Slightly more white females in 1972 wanted glamour jobs.

   c. Slightly more females, particularly white females (6%), wanted to be housewives in 1972.

C. Consistent Race Patterns: more blacks and whites alike wanted glamour jobs in 1972 with the only exception being white males (no change).

Historical Change in Expectations, 1966-1972

I. Changes by SEX - females evidenced slightly more change than males, 1966-1972.

A. Decreases

1. Strong Decrease in low-professional expectations as follows:
   a. 9% fewer black males expected to be military officers in 1972 (9% in 1966 to 0% in 1972).

   b. 12% fewer females in 1972, particularly black females, expected low-professional jobs requiring 4 years of college.

2. Fewer females in 1972 expected to enter skilled trades, particularly black females.

3. Fewer black males expected to have operative jobs in 1972.

4. Slightly fewer black males expected glamour jobs in 1972.

B. Increases

1. Slightly more males of both races in 1972 expected skilled jobs.

2. Slightly more black females expected clerical and sales jobs in 1972.

3. More females, particularly black females, expected to become housewives in 1972.

4. Slightly more white males expected unskilled labor jobs in 1972.

5. More males than females evidenced "No information" responses in 1972.

C. Consistent Sex Patterns: strong decrease in low-professional expectations for males and females; along with an increase in "no information" responses.

II. Changes by RACE - more change evidenced by blacks than whites, particularly in decreasing expectations for low-professional jobs.

A. Decreases

1. Fewer blacks and whites expected low-professional jobs as follows:
   a. 16% fewer black females and 8% fewer white females expected low professional jobs requiring a college education.

   b. Significantly more black males than white males evidenced decreased expectations for jobs as military officers (black males declined from 9% in 1966 to 0% in 1972).

2. Fewer black females expected skilled jobs in 1972.

3. Fewer black males expected operative jobs in 1972.

B. Increases

1. Slightly more black and white males alike expected skilled jobs in 1972.

2. More black females in 1972 expected to be housewives.

3. More white males expected unskilled jobs in 1972.

4. An increase in "no information" responses was observed for all but white females, and was strongest for black males and females respectively.

C. Consistent Race Patterns - a consistent decrease among blacks and whites respectively was observed in expectations for low-professional jobs, particularly for those jobs requiring a college education.

Historical Change In Intensity of Occupational Aspirations: 1966-1972

No significant historical change was observed in intensity of occupational aspiration among the respondents. Occupation remains in 1972, as in 1966, among the top three life goals relative to the respondents, and is

generally ranked second after education, and followed by income. At both time periods occupation was evaluated only slightly higher by whites than blacks. Finally, among black males the difference in magnitude of evaluation between education and income narrowed due to decreasing magnitude of education as the primary goal.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The observed historical decrease in aspirations for low professional jobs, particularly among males, may be indicative of a value shift away from a college education as the primary route to middle-class affluence and success. Of particular import is the apparent negative orientation among rural males, specifically black males, toward military careers. This change was more pronounced for expectations than aspirations, and appears to suggest that the military is no longer the desirable avenue of upward and outward mobility away from rural life that it has seemed to be in the past, particularly for black males. It may be that the prolonged conflict in Indochina, along with the domestic disenchantment which it generated, combined to negatively alter low-income rural males' orientations toward the military. In any case, the observed changes, if viewed as representative of young American males, would indicate difficulties for the successful implementation of an all-volunteer army.

An alternative consideration relative to decreased low-professional aspirations is the observed increase in glamour aspirations among black males. Perhaps they still seek middle-class affluence, but view glamour jobs as a more feasible alternative route to the same end. This is a definite possibility given not only the historical rise of a black identity

since 1966, but also the increased visibility of successful young black musicians, singing groups, entertainers, actors, and professional athletes on the American scene since that time. In short, "soul" has displaced "the Beatles" in the public eye.

For white males, it may be that the historical decrease in aspirations to low-professional jobs has been somewhat compensated by increased managerial/official aspirations. This is suggested particularly when the 10% decrease in low-professional aspirations is compared with the 14% increase in aspirants to managerial/official jobs. Moreover, that white males evidenced a 6% increase in farming aspirations may be at least indicative of a leveling-off of the historical pattern of decreasing farming aspirations among rural males. Or perhaps it simply means that those in 1972 who want to farm are serious in their aspirations and realistically perceive modern farming as the higher-level occupation which it must be if one is to be successful.

Regarding females, it is interesting to note that their decrease in aspirations did not occur at the low-professional level, but rather in the skilled trades for white females, and away from high-professional jobs for black females. Among white females, the significant decrease in aspirations to skilled jobs occurred with relatively equally increasing trends toward glamour jobs and being housewives. For black females, the trend away from high-professional jobs occurred with a trend toward glamour occupations. This change is consistent with the possibility that black females in 1972 view glamour as a more feasible alternative to success than the high-professional jobs which usually require more than four years of college to obtain.

For historical change in expectations, the observed patterns differ somewhat from those of aspirations. Most notable is the lack of increased glamour expectations relative to consistently fewer low-professional ex-

pectations. Unlike aspirations, no race-sex category of respondents increased their glamour expectations. Moreover, for females a strong decrease in low-professional expectations was present which was not observed for aspirations. For expectations, the low-professional decrease occurred along with an increase in expectations for skilled jobs among males, and in housewife expectations for females, rather than increased managerial/official and glamour orientations as observed for aspirations.

With respect to the general historical decreases in low-professional orientations, the decreases were more pronounced for expectations than aspirations. This was due primarily to the large decline in expectations for this level among black and white females respectively. It is also interesting to note the 10% increase in 1972 among black females expecting to be housewives. It may be that black girls perceive such an orientation as more realistic in terms of their life situation, particularly since very few black girls in either 1966 or 1972 wanted to be housewives as their primary orientation in life. Thus it appears that, while a general historical decline in aspirations and expectations to low-professional jobs has occurred, the alternative increases differ. For aspirations, the alternatives seem to be glamour and managerial/official jobs--while for expectations the alternative increases are in the skilled trades and housewife categories. In other words, alternative increases in expectations are further-removed in terms of prestige levels from low-professional jobs than is the case for alternative increases in aspirations. This may be indicative of a greater degree of realism (and/or pessimism) in the respondents' expectations than aspirations.

Finally, it should be remembered that the increased incidence of "no information" responses which was observed for both aspirations and expectations may have the effect of tempering somewhat the significance of other observed changes. The degree to which this is so is indeterminate. It may be that the increase in "no information" responses is indicative of an evolving negative orientation among the respondents toward survey-type research, or possibly the respondents simply had greater difficulty making up their minds or responding to the stimulus questions in 1972 than 1966.

For intensity of occupational aspirations, it is significant that occupation remains high in all respondents' rankings of life values. This is historically consistent with traditional patterning of American societal values relative to achievement orientations, particularly as they effect American youth.

APPENDIX I: RELEVANT STIMULUS QUESTIONS AND BACKGROUND ITEMS FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRES 1966-1972

Relevant Stimulus Questions

Occupational Aspiration:

15. (a) If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most desire as a lifetime kind of work? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work on the railroad" but tell us what railroad job you would like to have). Write your answer in the box below.

ANSWER: [ ]

Intensity of Aspiration:

18. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important check number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one check number 2, and so on until you have a number checked for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question. (Check only one number beside each sentence and check each different number only once.)

Order of Importance to You

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Having lots of free time to do what I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To develop my mind and get all the education I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To earn as much money as I can.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Getting the job I want most.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Living in the kind of place I like best.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Having the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have each number checked only once and a single number should be checked for each statement.

Occupational Expectation:

23. (a) What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an exact job!)

ANSWER: [ ]

Certainty of Expectation (Not utilized in present analysis.)

24. How sure do you feel that this will be the kind of work you <u>will do</u> most of your life? (Circle one number.)

I feel:	1	2	3	4	5
	Very sure	Sure	Not very sure	Uncertain	Very uncertain

Selected Background Items for Historical Comparisons

1. How old are you today? (Circle the number above your age.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
13 or less	14	15	16	17	18	19	20 or more

50. What was the highest school grade completed by your father and mother? (Circle one number for father and one number for mother.)

Father		Mother
1	Did not go to school.	1
2	Grade 1-7.	2
3	Eighth Grade.	3
4	Some high school but didn't graduate.	4
5	Graduated from high school.	5
6	Went to Vocational School after graduating from high school.	6
7	Some college but didn't graduate.	7
8	College Graduate (4 Years).	8
9	Don't know.	9

53. Who is the main breadwinner (chief money earner) in your family? (Circle only one number.)

1 Father
2 Mother
3 Brother or Sister
4 Other (Who? _____)

54. (a) What is the major job held by the main breadwinner of your home? (Write your answer in the following box. Give specific job, not the company or place worked for.)

ANSWER: [ ]

APPENDIX II. SUMMARY TABLES OF HISTORICAL CHANGE IN ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS 1966-1972

Table 1. Summary Historical Change in Aspirations

1966-1972

CLASSIFICATION II	I	MALE	FEMALE	BLACK	WHITE	BM	WM	BF	WF	SOPHS
High Professional 1	72							T-		
Low Professional 2		S-		S-	T-	S--	S-			S-
Military officer	71	-4%		-3%	-2%	-5%	-4%			
College required	73	-3%		-6%	-4%	-8%	-1%			
Some college ed.	74	-4%		+1%	-1%	-1%	-5%			
Clamour 3	81	S+	S+	S+		S+		T+	T+	S+
Manager/Official 4		S+			T+		S+			
Farm or ranch	11	+3%			+2%		+6%			
	51	+5%			+4%		+7%			
Clerical/Sales 5	61	T-				T-				
Skilled trade 6	31		S-		S-	T+			S--	T-
Operative 7		S-				S-				
	41	-3%				-7%				
	42	-3%				-3%				
Unskilled laborer 8										
	21									
	22									
Housewife & other 9									T+	
	91								0	
	95								+6%	
No information 0	00	S+		S+		S++				T+
Total sig. increases	S+	3	1	2	0	2	1	0	0	1
Total sig. decreases	S-	2	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	1
Total sig. changes	S	5	2	3	1	4	2	0	1	2
Total non-sig. trends	T	1	0	0	2	2	0	2	2	2
Min. sig. differences	%	6	6	7	8	9	10	9	9	6
		MALE	FEMALE	BLACK	WHITE	BM	WM	BF	WF	SOPHS

Table 2. Summary Historical Change in Expectations

1966 - 1972

CLASSIFICATION II	I	MALE	FEMALE	BLACK	WHITE	BM	WM	BF	WF	SOPHS
High Professional 1	72									
Low Professional 2		S--	S--	S--	S-	S--	S-	S--	T-	S--
Military officer	71	-4%	0	-2%	-1%	-9%	-1%	0	0	
College required	73	-3%	-12%	-10%	-5%	-4%	-3%	-16%	-8%	
Some college ed.	74	-4%	+1%	-1%	-2%	-2%	-6%	0	+2%	
Glamour 3	81					T-				
Manager/Official 4										
	11									
	51									
Clerical/Sales 5	61							T+		
Skilled trade 6	31	T+	T-			T+	T+	S-		
Operative 7		S-		T-		S-				
	41	-6%				-11%				
	42	-2%				-1%				
Unskilled laborer 8							T+			
	21						+5%			
	22						+2%			
Housewife & other 9			S+	T+				S+		T+
	91		0	0				0		
	95		+8%	+5%				+10%		
No information 0	00	S++	T+	S++		S++	T+	S+		S+
Total sig. increases	S+	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	1
Total sig. decreases	S-	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	1
Total sig. changes	S	3	2	2	1	3	1	4	0	2
Total non-sig. trends	T	1	2	2	0	2	3	1	1	1
Min. sig. differences	%	6	6	7	8	9	10	9	9	6
		MALE	FEMALE	BLACK	WHITE	BM	WM	BF	WF	SOPHS

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